

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1085

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0163

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0319

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL AND DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD

JUNE 23-29, 1975

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS THIS WEEK, THE EAST CONTINUED TO PLACE GREAT EMPHASIS ON THE NEED TO REDUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ON THE IMPORTANCE OF RESULTANT LIMITATIONS ON NUCLEAR FORCES IN BLOCKING AN ARMS RACE

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IN EUROPE. EASTERN REPS ALSO PUSHED THE JUNE 17 SOVIET PROPOSAL TO WORK OUT DEFINITIONS CONCERNING WHAT FORCES

SHOULD BE INCLUDED UNDER GROUND FORCES AND UNDER AIR FORCES FOR PURPOSES OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE JUNE 26 INFORMAL SESSION, KHESTOV ADVANCED SOME PROCEDURAL PROPOSALS FOR NEGOTIATION OF FORCE DEFINITIONS IN INFORMAL MEETINGS. FOLLOWING DISCUSSION IN THE AD HOC GROUP, ALLIED REPS INFORMED THE EAST OF THEIR READINESS TO BEGIN A DISCUSSION OF FORCE DEFINITIONS, WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE POSITIONS OF EAST OR WEST, AT THE JULY 1 INFORMAL SESSION. THE ALLIES ALSO TENTATIVELY AGREED TO THE EASTERN PROPOSAL THAT THE SUMMER RECESS OF THE VIENNA TALKS BEGIN JULY 21 AND END SEPTEMBER 22. END SUMMARY.

2. THE EAST FOLLOWED UP THIS WEEK ON THEIR JUNE 17 PROPOSAL FOR PARALLEL DISCUSSIONS, IN INFORMAL MEETINGS, OF FORCE DEFINITIONS AND OF THE KEY ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE -- I.E., WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET AND WHAT TYPES OF FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED. WITH THREE WEEKS REMAINING IN THE CURRENT ROUND, EASTERN TACTICS APPEAR TO BE PROCEEDING ON TWO LINES: (A) ATTACKING THE WEST ON OSTENSIBLE WEAK POINTS, SUCH AS PHASING AND THE EXCLUSION OF ARMAMENTS FROM REDUCTIONS; AND (B) PUSHING THE EASTERN SUGGESTION THAT AGREEMENT BE REACHED ON FORCE DEFINITIONS.

3. THIS WEEK, THE EAST ACCORDED ONLY PERFUNCTORY ATTENTION TO THE "WHOSE FORCES" ISSUE, DELIBERATELY FOCUSSED INSTEAD FOR THE SECOND SUCCESSIVE WEEK ON THE NEED FOR NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS AND PRESSING THE ALLIES TO COMMENCE A DISCUSSION OF FORCE DEFINITIONS. HAVING ALREADY PICKED UP THE JUNE 25 BOSTON GLOBE ARTICLE ON POSSIBLE US NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS IN MBFR AND FEELING CONFIDENT THAT THE EAST HAD SCORED POINTS ON THE PHASE II REDUCTION COMMITMENT ISSUE, SOVIET REP SMIRNOVSKY EXPRESSED THE VIEW TO A UK DELOFF THAT THE EAST HAD THE WEST "ON THE RUN" ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES.

4. IN THE JUNE 24 INFORMAL SESSION, CZECHOSLOVAK REP MEISNER AND POLISH REP STRULAK CLAIMED THAT THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH WOULD LEAD TO AN UNLIMITED ARMS RACE.

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EASTERN REPS ARGUED THAT, IN PRESENTING ITS NOV 26 PROPOSAL FOR A NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT ON MANPOWER DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE EAST ALSO HAD IN EFFECT PROPOSED A COMMITMENT NOT TO MAKE A LARGE-SCALE INCREASES IN ARMAMENTS IN THE AREA. NETHERLANDS REP DE VOS RESPONDED THAT BOTH SIDES WERE ENGAGING IN FORCE MODERIZATION PROGRAMS AND THAT THERE WAS NO POINT IN TRADING CHARGES ON THE SUBJECT. DE VOS EXPLAINED THE WESTERN POSITION ON ARMAMENTS LIMITATIONS, SAYING THAT LIMITATIONS ON MANPOWER PROVIDED A BASIC RESTRAINT ON ARMAMENTS AND THAT EASTERN

REPS HAD APPEARED TO AGREE WITH THIS VIEW WHEN THEY HAD PRESENTED THEIR NOV 26 PROPOSAL FOR A NO-INCREASE IN MILITARY MANPOWER. US DEPREP POINTED OUT THAT, WHEN EASTERN REPS HAD BEEN QUESTIONED ABOUT THEIR NO-INCREASE PROPOSAL, THEY HAD CLAIMED THAT IT REFERRED EXCLUSIVELY TO MAN-POWER AND HAD ARGUED THAT IT WOULD NONETHELESS BLOCK THE ARMS RACE. EASTERN REPS REJOINDERED WITH A CONCENTRATED FIRE OF QUESTIONS AS TO HOW A 700,000-MAN COMMON CEILING COULD POSSIBLY INHIBIT INCREASES IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

5. UK REP ROSE RESPONDED TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, IN THE JUNE 17 INFORMAL, THAT PARTICIPANTS WORK OUT, IN PARALLEL WITH DISCUSSION OF BASIC SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, AGREED DEFINITIONS AS TO WHAT FORCES SHOULD BE INCLUDED UNDER GROUND FORCES AND UNDER AIR FORCES. ROSE SAID THE ALLIES CONSIDERED THAT IT WOULD BE MORE PRODUCTIVE TO DISCUSS DEFINITIONS TOGETHER WITH DATA ON THE GROUND AND AIR FORCE TOTALS, TO WHICH THE DEFINITIONS WOULD RELATE. UK REP ALSO PRESENTED THE WESTERN DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES AND STATED THAT REMAINING ACTIVE DUTY FORCES IN THE AREA, ASIDE FROM NAVAL FORCES, WERE AIR FORCES.

6. SOVIET REP KHESTOV SAID HE TOOK THIS WESTERN RESPONSE AS AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO DISCUSS DEFINITIONS. SOVIET REP EMPHASIZED, AS HAVE SOVIET DELOFFS IN BILATERAL TALKS WITH US, THAT THE EAST HAD NOT CHANGED ITS POSITION ON DATA AND THAT A DATA EXCHANGE REMAINED PREMATURE AT THIS TIME. KHESTOV PROPOSED THAT THE DEFINITIONS ISSUE EITHER BE DISCUSSED TOGETHER WITH BASIC ISSUES IN THE SAME INFORMAL SESSION, OR IN SPEQUENCE, WITH ONE FULL SESSION DEVOTED TO DEFINITIONS AND THE NEXT SESSION TO OTHER ISSUES, AND SO

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ON. HE ALSO PROPOSED THAT THOSE DIRECT PARTICIPANT HEADS OF DELEGATIONS PARTICIPATING IN ANY GIVEN SESSION IN WHICH DEFINITIONS WERE DISCUSSED SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY THEIR MILITARY ADVISERS. IT MAY BE THAT KHESTOV AND OTHER WARSAW PACT REPS ARE THEMSELVES UNDER PRESSURE FROM THEIR MILITARY ADVISERS AND PERHAPS CAPITALS TO INCLUDE THE MILITARY ADVISERS IN DISCUSSION OF DEFINITIONS.

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1086

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0164

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

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USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0319

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL AND DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

7. THE AD HOC GROUP CONSIDERED THE PROPOSAL FOR A DISCUSSION OF DEFINITIONS AT ITS JUNE 25 MEETING, AND DECIDED TO INFORM THE EAST OF ALLIED READINESS TO BEGIN A DISCUSSION OF DEFINITIONS AT THE JULY 1 INFORMAL SESSION. THE AHG TENTATIVELY FAVORED DEVOTING THE JULY 1 AND JULY 8 INFORMAL SESSIONS TO THE DEFINITIONS ISSUE, WITH THE FINAL INFORMAL MEETING OF THE ROUND, ON JULY 15, SET ASIDE FOR GENERAL DISCUSSION. THERE WAS NO OBJECTION IN THE AHG TO APPROPRIATE ATTENDANCE BY EXPERTS, ALTHOUGH SOME ALLIED REPS INDICATED THE INTENTION

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TO EMPLOY NON-MILITARY EXPERTS. ON THIS LAST POINT, AN EASTERN DELOFF TOLD US THIS WEEK THAT HE EXPECTED EASTERN MILITARY EXPERTS TO PLAY MORE AN ADVISORY THAN A VOCAL

ROLE IN THE DISCUSSIONS.

8. IN EAST-WEST BILATERAL EXCHANGES THIS WEEK, WP REPS ELABORATED SOMEWHAT ON THEIR APPROACH TO DEFINITIONS. CZECHOSLOVAK REP MEISNER INDICATED THAT THE EAST WANTS TO DEFINE BOTH GROUND AND AIR FORCES BY ESTABLISHING AGREED LISTS OF THE FUNCTIONS PERFORMED BY THE TWO ARMED SERVICES. MEISNER THOUGHT IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY TO MAKE LENGTHY OR COMPLETELY DETAILED LISTS OF FUNCTIONS FOR THIS PURPOSE. IN SEPARATE TALKS WITH A US DELOFF (MBFR VIENNA A-112 AND A-113), SOVIET DELOFF SHUSTOV AND POLISH DELOFF WIECZOREK SAID THE CORRECT APPROACH TO THE FORCE DEFINITION PROBLEM WAS TO DEAL WITH ELEMENTS AND SUB-ELEMENTS OF THE FORCE STRUCTURES OF EACH OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPATING STATES, IN ORDER TO DETERMINE IF PARTICULAR COMPONENTS OF THE DIFFERENTLY ORGANIZED NATIONAL FORCE STRUCTURES MOST PROPERLY FIT IN TO COMMON DEFINITIONS OF GROUND FORCES OR AIR FORCES.

9. AT THE JUNE 26 PLENARY MEETING, THE ONLY STATEMENT WAS DELIVERED BY THE FRG REP (BEHREND). THE FRG STATEMENT WAS A STANDARD PRESENTATION ON THE COMMON CEILING. BEHREND STRESSED THE WESTERN REQUIREMENT THAT THE VIENNA TALKS RESULT IN A NEW AND MORE STABLE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND ARGUED THAT A COMMON CEILING IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER WAS THE MOST EQUITABLE AND PRACTICAL WAY TO ACHIEVE SUCH A RELATIONSHIP. BEHREND ALSO EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR AN EARLY DISCUSSION OF DATA IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH THE BASIC FACTS OF THE PRESENT FORCE RELATIONSHIP IN CENTRAL EUROPE. FRG REP CLOSED BY UNDERSCORING THE IMPORTANCE TO THE WEST OF THE COLLECTIVE NATURE OF THE COMMON CEILING.

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